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TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

CHEROKEE LONDON FOR SEITZ

FOL TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM GENEVA DTD 04 DEC 1976 QTE

S E C R E T GENEVA 9665

NODIS CHEROKEE

TO THE SECRETARY FROM REINHARDT

DEPT PASS LONDON FOR SEITZ

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR RH UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: DEC 3 MEETING WITH CHONA

1. BEFORE MEETING CHONA, I ASKED IVOR RICHARD TO READ THE TALKING POINTS WHICH HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED FOR MY SESSION. RICHARD HAD NO PROBLEM WITH THE POINTS AND SAID THAT THERE WAS A LOT TO BE GAINED FROM REMINDING CHONA AND THE FRONT LINE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NEED TO THINK IN TERMS OF POWER SHARING.

2. CHONA AND DUNSTAN KAMANA INVITED FRANK WISNER AND
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ME TO DINNER FOR WHAT PROVED TO BE A VERY LONG EVENING.

DURING THE COURSE OF OUR CONVERSATION, I COVERED THE POINTS IN MY INSTRUCTIONS.

3. WHILE NOT CHANGING THE MESSAGE HE GAVE TO WISNER (GENEVA 9552), CHONA WORKED THROUGHOUT THE COURSE OF THE EVENING TO SOFTEN HIS APPROACH AND MAKE IT MORE ACCEPTABLE TO US. HE REITERATED AGAIN AND AGAIN THE IMPORTANCE HE ATTACHED TO WORKING CLOSELY WITH US AND REPEATEDLY REMINDED ME OF HIS FEAR THAT IF AN AGREEMENT IS NOT REACHED IN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS IN GENEVA, IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO BRING THE PARTIES BACK TO THE CONFERENCE. REFERRING TO ZIPA, HE SAID THAT THEY WOULD NOT RETURN. ANY OTHERS WHO DECIDED TO COME BACK AFTER A CHRISTMAS RECESS WOULD DO SO WITH AN ENTIRELY CHANGED PERSPECTIVE. THESE NEW ATTITUDES WOULD MAKE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IMPOSSIBLE. ZAMBIA IS COMMITTED TO THE GENEVA PROCESS AND FOR THIS REASON IS PAYING FOR THE NEW ZIPA ARRIVALS. CHONA RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR BEING ABLE TO SELL AN AGREEMENT TO THE RHODESIANS AND THE SOUTH AFRICANS. HE UNDERSTANDS THAT NEITHER THE BRITISH NOR THE NATIONALISTS CAN DO THIS. HE ATTACHED, AS A RESULT, THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO OUR UNDERSTANDING THE NUANCE OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S POSITION. IN ESSENCE, HE ARGUED, THE FRONT COUNTS ON EUROPEAN RHODESIANS STAYING IN RHODESIA AND PARTICIPATING IN THE LIFE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY. THE FRONT, MOREOVER, EXPECTS THAT THE CIVIL SERVICE AND SECURITY FORCES WILL BE MANNED BY WHITES FOR THE INDEFINITE FUTURE.

4. IF OUR OBJECTIVE WAS ALONG-TERM WHITE PARTICIPATION AND A MODERATE OUTCOME FOR RHODESIA, WE SHARED WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT A SIMILAR GOAL. CHONA UNDERSTOOD THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO POWER SHARING DURING TRANSITION BUT ARGUED THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S POSITION FORESAW THE PRINCIPLE BEING CARRIED ON AFTER INDEPENDENCE. HE BELIEVED THAT WE COULD COMMUNICATE THE FRONT'S RESOLVE AND INTENTION IN THIS REGARD TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND THE RHODESIANS.

5. IN A METICULOUS FASHION, CHONA WENT THROUGH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S POLITICAL POSITION AND THE NEGOTIATING
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DOCUMENT WHICH IT HAD ADVANCED AT THE CONFERENCE (GENEVA 9620). IN GENERAL CHONA ARGUED THAT POWER SHARING IN PRINCIPLE AND IN PRACTICE HAD BEEN AGREED TO BY ALL ELEMENTS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT INCLUDING ZIPA. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE RECOGNIZE WHAT NKOMO HAS BEEN ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH IN ROPING IN THE MILITARY FACTIONS. IN THE END, ONLY THE FRONT, WHICH CONTROLS THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS, CAN END THE WAR.

6. CHONA POINTED OUT THAT THE ONE TIER TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT PROVIDED THE SAME PROTECTION FOR WHITE RHODESIAN INTERESTS THAT A TWO TIER SYSTEM WAS INTENDED TO PROTECT. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S POSITION CALLED FOR A HEAVY DEGREE OF BRITISH INVOLVEMENT WHICH IS DESIGNED IN PART TO PROTECT WHITE INTERESTS. THE FRONT EXPECTED WHITES TO ENJOY A COMMANDING POSITION IN THE CIVIL SERVICE, THE JUDICIARY AND IN THE ECONOMY DURING AND AFTER TRANSITION. IN THE FIELD OF DEFENSE, IF BRITAIN WERE WILLING TO ASSIGN SENIOR OFFICERS, THE FRONT EXPECTED WHITE RHODESIANS TO CONTINUE TO OCCUPY SUBORDINATE POSITIONS IN THE MILITARY FORCES. EVEN THOSE WHO ARE UNWILLING TO TAKE AN OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO A NEW GOVERNMENT WOULD BE RETAINED ON CONTRACT.

7. WHEN TIME CAME TO WRITE A CONSTITUTION, A STRONG BILL OF RIGHTS WOULD BE INCLUDED WHICH WOULD GIVE CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTIONS TO LIFE AND PROPERTY AND SPECIFICALLY PROVIDE REASSURANCE TO THE EUROPEAN POPULATION.

8. TURNING TO THE FRONT'S POSITION PAPER, CHONE ARGUED THAT THE FRONT'S CALL FOR A RESIDENT AND DEPUTY RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WAS MORE THAN EVEN HE HAD HOPED FOR. HE ASKED THAT WE NOT TAKE SERIOUSLY PROVISIONS WHICH SAID THAT THE NATIONALISTS WOULD PLAY A ROLE IN PICKING AND DISMISSING THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. NKOMO AND MUGABE HAD ONLY WANTED TO MAKE SURE THAT SOMEONE LIKE IVOR RICHARD WAS SEELECTED FOR THE TOP JOB.

9. LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY DURING TRANSITION WOULD BE
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THE JOINT RESPONSIBILITY OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, HIS DEPUTY, AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. IN LEGISLATIVE MATTERS, EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WOULD REPRESENT WHITE INTERESTS. THERE WOULD BE 5 EUROPEANS - PROBABLY NOT RHODESIAN FRONT MEMBERS - ON THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. CHONA UNDERSTANDS THAT NKOMO AND MUGABE WOULD NAME OTHER WHITES TO THE CABINET AS WELL. EVEN IF THEY DID NOT, THE 5 WHITE MINISTERS, THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND HIS DEPUTY, WOULD GIVE WHITE INTERESTS 7 OUT OF 27 VOTES.

10. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S PAPER CALLED FOR AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY WHICH THE FRONT KNEW WOULD BE WHITE DOMINATED. THE SAME JUDGES WHO HOLD OFFICE TODAY WOULD BE RETAINED, EVEN THOUGH MANY OF THEM HAD SENTENCED NATIONALISTS

TO LONG AND UNFAIR TERMS IN PRISON. THE PAPER ALSO MADE CLEAR THAT THE CIVIL SERVICE WOULD STAY IN WHITE HANDS. THE ONLY SENIOR CIVIL SERVICE POSITION TO CHANGE WOULD BE THAT OF THE SECRETARY TO THE CABINET. THE FRONT COULD NOT SEE JACK GAYLARD KEEPING HIS JOB. WITH RESPECT TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND ELECTORAL COMMISSIONS, WHITE PARTICIPATION WAS PLANNED, PROBABLY ALONG THE LINES OF THE 1 TO 5 RATIO FORESEEN IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

1. CHONA ASSUMED THAT HIS DESCRIPTION OF BROAD PRINCIPLES OF ASSURANCES AND PROTECTION, AS WELL AS HIS ANNOTATIONS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S NEGOTIATING POSITION, WOULD NEED TO BE CONFIRMED IF WE WERE TO MAKE A CASE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND SALISBURY. HE SAID HE WAS READY TO SECURE SOME SORT OF DOCUMENT WHICH WOULD MAKE EXPLICIT WHAT HE TOLD ME. HE WOULD GUARANTEE THAT WHATEVER HE PRODUCED WOULD CARRY THE AGREEMENT OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AS WELL AS THE NATIONALISTS.

12. THROUGHOUT THE COURSE OF THE EVENING, I REMINDED CHONA OF THE DIFFICULTIES WE WOULD FACE IN SEEKING A NEW FRAMEWORK. HE WAS SENSITIVE TO MY ARGUMENTS AND THE CONCILIATORY NATURE OF HIS PRESENTATION IS AN INDICATION THAT OUR CONCERNS HAVE TAKEN HOLD. THERE IS NO MORE ROOM HOWEVER IN CHONA'S THINKING FOR A
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COUNCIL OF STATE THAN THERE IS IN NKOMO'S. WE MUST CONCLUDE THAT AS FAR AS THE FRONT LINE STATES AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ARE CONCERNED, A TWO TIERED SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IS OUT. CHONA COULD NOT HAVE CONCLUDED FROM OUR CONVERSATION THAT WE IN ANY FASHION COUNTENANCED THIS CHANGE OF COURSE OR HAVE LEFT WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT WE WERE INTERESTED IN OR PREPARED TO SELL THE SORTS OF ASSURANCES TO EUROPEANS WHICH HE ADVANCED ON THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S BEHALF. CATTO

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